1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

648 According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were [492] in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who [177] rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided [262] among the band.

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881 galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ew'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[431] A giving away of presents (hiyemal'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[532] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he'wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he'wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ew'we with him and she consents, they get married.

844 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

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[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

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IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lɔɣ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called magi'"gala by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [115] Pine nuts (t'a"gum) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses," a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abí) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (menda"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[*] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[*] *Op. cit.*, 12.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pa'l'a.u ta.upe"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.* The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gae) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (a."uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (paka'tomu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta"eak) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called ta'lmu also served as food.

* Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788 A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihi'p'i'ea) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke'a! mi'k'ey ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

839 Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821 Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a"umatapa"li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825 824 A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825 [224] [262] Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a"ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23 [262] [224] The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'eu, diku'eu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763 On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776 Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Peta'l'itai tekme'liwi (Dave).

821 789 276 When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

821 Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

825 Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752 Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776 Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755 825 A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

276 A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

101 combined with the peculiar natural environment, has produced a material culture which contains many features of both these areas and which shows certain interesting local adaptations and modifications.

ENVIRONMENT.

131 The Washo territory lies partly on the western margin of the
133 arid, Great Basin region of Nevada, and partly on the more densely wooded eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada. It also extends up into the heavily timbered and well watered high Sierra region and even, in a small area on the headwaters of the Moquelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus rivers, reaches down for some distance on the western slope of this range.* Its western limit can, however, in general be stated as the crest of the Sierra Nevada range. Its eastern limit is, generally speaking, the low range between the Carson river and the Walker river drainages. Thus the territory of the Washo lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills of this range. The accompanying map shows these limits only approximately, as time did not permit a careful investigation of this subject.

133 Within this restricted territory are found two very distinct types of natural environment, each with its typical fauna and flora. The one, that of the semi-desert basin (plate II[1]); the other, that of the well timbered and well watered Sierra (plate I).[2] The latter tends to produce features characteristic of the eastern part of the
137 California culture area. The semi-arid sands of the eastern part of the Washo territory bear a flora characterized by low brush, various grasses which yield seeds used for food and, on the desert
• [262] mountains, by a particular species of pine, the piñon, whose nuts constitute such an important article of food throughout much of the Great Basin culture area. The well watered mountains of the

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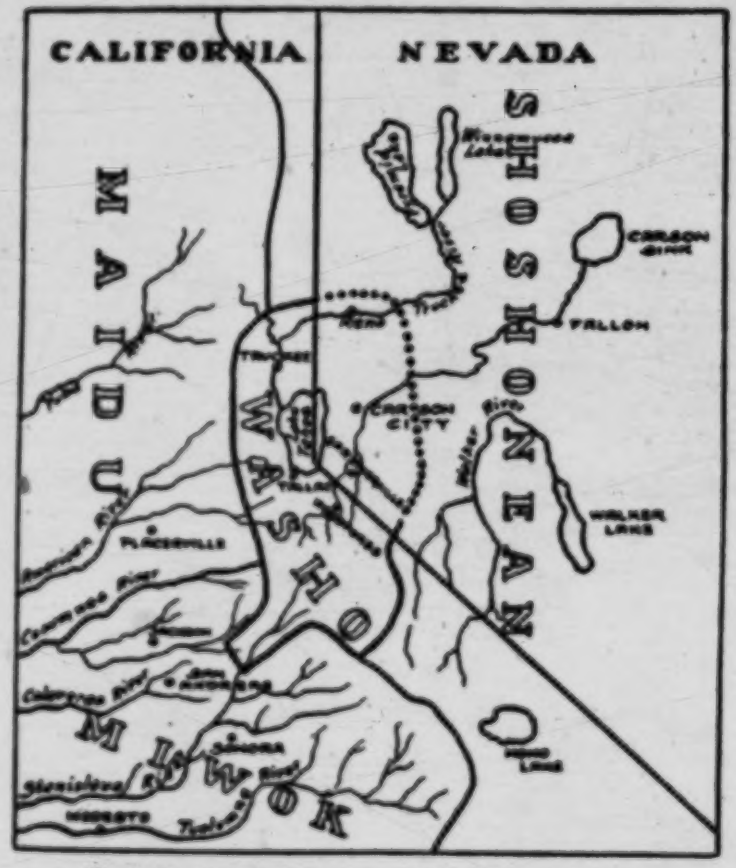
*See the author's "Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians," Univ. Calif. Publ., Am. Arch. Ethn. VI, 547 and map 1, 1908. Also Dixon's "The Northern Maidu," Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, 188, and pl. XXXVIII, 1908.

1 [The author may be referring to plate I, fig. 2 here, see cat. 46, p. 29 - Ann.]

2 [See plate I, fig. 1, Cat. 86, P. 29 - Ann.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

The well watered mountains of the western part of the Washo territory produce a flora characterized by heavy forests of cedar, spruce, and several of the larger species of pine, and in its extreme western part by the presence of the



Map 1. Showing the Washo territory and that of surrounding tribes.

sequoia and the oak, whose acorns are used to some extent as food; thus introducing here a distinctly Californian element.

The fauna of the two sections presented, in primitive times, similar differences. That of the arid region was characterized

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

In aboriginal times a conical house was occasionally built in the southern Paiute region, but the typical house there was a hemispherical one thatched with bark or grass. 342

The summer brush house of the Washo varies from a mere low enclosure to a completely covered, dome-shaped house (plate III, fig. 1). The latter, which is the usual Washo form, is found very frequently as a summer dwelling among the Paviotso to the east and occasionally, also, among the Miwok to the west. For warmth and for cooking purposes, every house was provided with an open fire. [171] [354]

An earth-covered dance house similar to the usual semi-subterranean dance-house of the California area, was formerly used in this region, though none is now to be found. This house is called daya'limi. 344 [171]

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

The foods of the Washo were in aboriginal times essentially of the Great Basin type. Many of these primitive foods are still somewhat used, but the whiteman's foods now supply a large part of the wants of these Indians, so that it is possible to find at best but few of the primitive foods in the possession of any one family. 262 177

THE RABBIT.

The jack rabbit (pe'leū), and the cottontail (tsa'li), are the principal game and were formerly taken by means of a long rabbit net, such as is used by the Paviotso. None of these nets could be found among the Washo at the present time, but they are described as being in every respect the same as the net used by the Paviotso. This net was from twenty-four to thirty inches in height, had a mesh about three inches square, and was usually some three hundred feet long. Two or more of these nets were often connected end to end forming either a straight or a V-shaped fence-like trap, into which a number of men drove the rabbits from a distance of a mile or more. The net was held by stakes at about ten-foot intervals, or was fastened to the bushes so that it was held 224

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat, sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples, [177] and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the hunters."

224 624 [428] So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe"leu lewe ti'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant in this case said that the term ti'yeli could not be translated as chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be [226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official, he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

411 224 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7)[1] was ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow (plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed. [177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive weapons.

226 ●[262] As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (ti'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

[1] [See cat. 11C, p. 39 --An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

No opportunity presented itself to go into the details of hunting and fishing. There are, however, without doubt certain traps and other implements used for these purposes, which a more detailed study of the Washo culture would bring out.

Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gûm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darû tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 -- Ed.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

252 These pine nuts may be cracked and eaten, but they are usually converted into a meal from which mush is made. They are shelled and ground to a fine flour on the boulder mortar, or sometimes on the metate. These implements are shown in plates III and IV. The meal is then cooked in a basket by means of hot stones, making a food similar to the acorn mush so typical of the California area.

252 As above mentioned, oaks grow in the extreme western part
262 of the Washo area and acorns (ma'lil) were regularly gath-
[137] ered by the Washo in former times. Others were secured by them
[222] through trade with their western neighbors, who considered the
[439] piñon nut a delicacy as the Washo did the acorn, which was ground on the boulder mortar, as above described, and eaten in the form of mush.

A considerable variety of grass and weed seeds are used in a similar manner as food. They are parched, ground and made in the same way into mush. Pigweed seed (ta'hal), and another variety,
[272] called me'tsûm, are still used. A native tea is made from the stems of a leafless, desert plant, called me'gel.

252 In cooking, especially in boiling mush as above indicated, a considerable number of stones about the size of one's fist are
[412] heated in the open fire. They are lifted by means of wooden tongs, and are first dipped into clear water to cleanse them of ashes. They are then dropped directly into the mush, which is thus made to boil and which is constantly stirred with a looped stirring stick (belĕ'yû), such as that shown in plate V, fig. 3. As the stones cool they are removed by means of this same implement, again dipped into water to remove the remnants of the mush which may adhere to them, and replaced in the fire to re-heat.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

324 The Washo use the flat metate or grinding stone (dĕ'mge), and
412 the muller (ga'mûm), as do the Paiute and other Great Basin and
[171] Southwest desert tribes. These implements are shown in Plate IV, figs 5 and 4, respectively. The top of a conveniently situated, flat

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 334 35. – Au.]

22

A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] This paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

[221] The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be.

[785] The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that [574] it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance.

881 252 [415] [412] The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways [846] —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk.

[262] [222] In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

[P. 369, B]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2488-2541)

756 115

gratified and smiled. "Oh well, it's all psychological anyway," he answered, confirming Lowie's description of him as a sophisticate.

He is noted for his rather atypical practice of tending a garden, which consists mostly of fruit trees, and for his open liking for old-fashioned foods, which he collects, including fly grubs and locusts. I was not able to observe his curing procedures, but they were described to me by another informant, a seventy-five-year-old woman, considered one of the most progressive of the residents of Dresslerville.

[262]

[178] [755]

"I took my granddaughter to Rupert after the white doctors didn't do nothing for her. He don't doctor in the real old Indian way [a phrase I later learned meant that he did not hold a series of four one-night sessions but only a short ceremony]. He don't give you nothing, just sings and prays and talks over you for a while. He has a rattle and a whistle and a band on his head. After we went to him my granddaughter got well."

Another informant, the man who was cured by his mother—curiously another graduate of the Stewart School and outwardly a progressive Indian—was a veritable fountain of shamanistic knowledge. His father and maternal uncle were both well-known shamans. Although he insisted that he had no particular power himself, other Indians generally claimed that he had certain hunting medicines which assisted him in taking game. There is little doubt that he believed he had been approached by spirits offering him shamanistic power. His life story was a long recital of ailments and mystic occurrences. The ailments, coupled with his attitude about spiritual power, suggested strongly that his suffering had been due to a rejection of the power offered (Whiting 1950). He supplied the following account about the process of becoming a shaman.

756

"Young fellows sometimes have dreams but usually they don't pay no attention to them. But when you get older and keep having dreams you begin to pay attention. Maybe you see a bear or a rattlesnake or Water Baby or anything. It tell you that you are going to be a doctor. The next morning you go out and bathe and pray. This thing keeps coming [in your dreams]. It may take any form, a skeleton or an animal but you know it's always the same thing as the first time, just taking different shapes.

"These dreams keep coming for four, sometimes eight, years to get you to be a good doctor. But during all this time you don't get no song. But they do give you your water. It tells you some certain place up in the mountains where there is a spring. You mebbe think there isn't no spring there, but there is. Then it tells you where to gather tobacco. Later it will tell you to make a rattle out of cocoon. Mebbe at first you only make a rattle with one cocoon. Later it says for you to add more. Finally it will give you a song. You dream this song. But you don't really remember it. You just begin singing it like you had known it all the time. For a while you may get a new song every year. Sometime you have

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.395, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

771 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanticide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

[847] [848]

842 However, it is believed that conception can be prevented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the 789 afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down [178] afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent 754 the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had [843] slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [262] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [302] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-[178] in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[P. 376, A]

881 [271] [262] [263] active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat."

[124] [262] (This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] [202] The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778] The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178] In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] [824] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal

[782] prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the

[431] [178] morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high

[302] point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 178 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the

[574] feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P. 396, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-308).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness [535] and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, [177] in deference to white notions of modesty which are [302] strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 177 178 [535] There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. [871] And of course the fact that future generations of Washo girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS
(2379-2386, 369-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

[P. 399, A]

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing abili-
868 ty as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
224 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
[178] go through the winter without depending on rabbit or
[648] deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative—a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also forbidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any
[226] fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.

584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

791 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential
224 among the Washo, and his descendants are considered
624 among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There ap-
787 pear to have been formalized prayers which were said
before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

[782] Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday. In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.'" They have to
224 hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs dur-
178 ing the week."

[464] The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo pre-
624 fer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian
224 colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim
178 that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that his presence is important to other Indians. His role
[182] is that of leader or captain who superintends the order
[177] and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he
224 met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man
535 was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 Bear (298, 2558-2561).—Bear hunting appears never to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo.
[262] Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

224 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able
539 to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the eldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."[10]

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[787] [9]This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] [10]This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

825
771 the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

226
789 Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo [787] describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are [535] said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather [782] attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine com- [825] posed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called [439] kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaŝa by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were con- [262] sidered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes [773] in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

784
224
227
841
[562]
[783] A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P.382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2384-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women was that they must not eat meat during their periods.

[262] To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intestinal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people.
224 If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (380-388). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, although at least some Washo women own fishing poles, and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

[886] [841] [562] [226]

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
[178] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[796] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritual of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

[262] [178]

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *kŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Melo (meaning "friend"), who was selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 155-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band."

In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 1940 three ranches were purchased adjacent to the colony for the Washo. The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great.

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to transport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malang), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (mɨdawi), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (taba) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959).

Water (dima) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION

John C. Fremont made several contacts with the Washo Indians in January and February of 1844. He described a custom that reveals the essence of Washo economic distribution (Nevins 1956, 345-352).

"A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each carried a little bag. These seemed now to be staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted in offering a few nuts to eat and to trade..."

And later "...when we reached a little affluent to the river at the bottom we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians...Our friendly demeanor reconciled them and when we got near enough they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pinenuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality."

Gifts, as Fremont experienced, were part of everyday social intercourse among the Washo. Gifts were given in connection with births, puberty ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. As Fremont indicates, gifts also served to establish contact with strangers and to initiate trade.

In the quantitative terms of distributing total Washo production of goods and services, gift exchange was not very important. It was in the sphere of ideal values that gift exchange became important.

The value of sharing and of giving found expression in most of Washo economic distributions. Sharing (mlb¢shigihi) obtained at every level of Washo social organization. Sharing also decreased as kinship and residence distances increased. Non-Washo received the least of Washo sharing and yet Fremont and his party, although total strangers, were met with gifts and the invitation to trade. The person who would not share with others of the same household, or who was generally stingy (hut¢ tiki) would not be included in the networks of sharing and might be "talked out" of his household.

With various qualities of the transactions as our criteria, eight forms of economic distribution stand out in Washo society. These eight forms can be analysed in terms of the extent of "primary" and "secondary" social relations involved in each. Primary refers to relations between people with common goals and relations that are ends in themselves, intrinsically valued, "personal" in that the identity of the individuals cannot be changed without disturbing the relationship, "inclusive" in that the range or involvement

592
involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the 596
communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That 433
pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made
by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were [768]
personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

888
The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were 592
economically influential. With skill and experience they led their house- 596
holds and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who 433
became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other
disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this
desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with
grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was
the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with
age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grand-
parents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

554
Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the 592
late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. 596
Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly 264
great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. 433
Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring [262]
sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that [353]
children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers
prechewed solid foods for infants.

574
Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through 592
hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food 596
might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case 735
private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was 433
shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests
would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make
what contribution they could.

262
There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, 731
when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete 591
said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes 596
to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. 433
It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women
would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed
the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods
was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle. 854 [178]

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. 846 [431] [262] [263]

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?elshaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby. 846 574 431

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumigaaum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (le?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl. 881 262 [535] [574] [431] [785]

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemalyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 304). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony. 881 574 431

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family. 881 [224] [262]

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

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horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If [777] the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. [262] The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but [431] was given away.

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Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people [431] were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were [583] shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a [834] courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

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After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift 584
to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 306) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

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The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the [535] custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance [881] (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

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According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

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If no young or old people were around to receive them, the heart and liver of a deer, antelope, or rabbit were thrown away. The fetus of an animal and the eggs of scavenger birds were never eaten. Coyote, lizard, snake, frog, and eagle meat were also taboo. When a person died all of his personal belongings were abandoned or destroyed. The home of the deceased was torn down or burned. Food produced by the deceased was destroyed or traded off for other food. One informant said that even clothes made by the deceased and given to another person were often destroyed. 768

Downs (1961, 375) wrote that, "Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical." The present writer has a similar impression, but it is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the role of religion in economy since the data on this subject are so fragmentary today. Economic distribution related to the supernatural, such as the instances of ceremonial disposal described above, appears to be the most intimate, "primary" form of distribution. The importance of the supernatural side of the Washo world view is seen in the mythology collections by Dangberg (1927) and Lowie (1939). 771 433

Gambling

Gambling (gawa) provided the most competitive basis for exchange among the Washo. It was more competitive than trade and was antithetical to the ideal of sharing. Teams that gambled and won together divided the winnings, but the competition between teams was intense and not necessarily proportionate to the value of the objects wagered. 525 433

The Washo would bet on any game or competition. Foot races (gumlɬshʊʊsh) for four, five, or six miles were a favorite subject of wagers. Bets were made on the outcome of the men's football game or the women's stick and rope game. Usually the players themselves would bet. Archery, a ring and pin game, a rock-toss game (umlalats), a quoit game, and wrestling were all the subjects of betting. Sometimes the wager would involve only a hit on the head or hand, but often the stakes would get high, requiring payment of baskets, eagle tail feathers, jewelry, buckskins, or even a rabbit skin blanket. 525 526

The favorite gambling games were those involving the manipulation of small sticks or bones, the hand games (hinaya when played by women and hinayaugi when played by men), stick games (sigaya), dice games, and basket games. These games were often major social events in themselves involving teams of players and dozens of spectators. The men and women always played separately. The games also involved chants, foot stamping, and other tactics to throw the opposing team off. Today men and women gamble together and the hand games have been replaced by card games. 524 525 [178]

person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tagum), fish (etabi), rabbits (p¢lieu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

bear nuts two years in succession because pine trees have a biannual sexual maturity cycle, but different groves in different parts of the territory might combine to provide a crop each year if precipitation is sufficient. 433 222

Pinenuts were gathered in strips (dimasha) about one-third to one-half of a mile wide that ran up the hill following the natural contours. These strips were marked off by lines of stones (Lowie 1939, 303; Freed n.d., 10). Since the pinenuts ripened first at the lower elevations the gathering began at the bottom of the hill in September with the last prime nuts being gathered at higher elevations around the middle of October. Although gathering might go on for several weeks the actual collection time of prime nuts was about three weeks.

As the gathering party moved up the hill about three or four large brush and pineneedle covered caches of cones with the nuts still in them were built up the side of the hill. The caches ranged widely in size, but from descriptions it is possible to estimate an average size. A cache with its protective covering was about fifteen feet long, six feet wide, and four feet high. See Plate II, B for a view of a pinenut cache. Each household usually had rights in two or three strips but in abundant years might only collect from one strip. This would give each household about four caches each with from three to six hundred pounds of pinenuts, or about three hundred pounds per person. 433 222 251

In addition to the nuts cached in cones, a few hundred pounds of nuts in the shells would be gathered and eaten right away or cached in stone and grass lined pits (damyeo). Dry pineneedles were mixed with the nuts to keep them from getting damp and mouldy. At a rate of about a pound of nuts per person a day this gave the household enough pinenuts for roughly one half of their total food consumption for two years.[1]

Unfortunately Washo storage techniques were insufficient to protect the caches much beyond a year so large portions were lost to rot and animals. Also there may be a good pinenut crop the next year so that last year's surplus was not used. These factors resulted in an overproduction of about one-half of the crop that was non-tradeable.

Summary of Washo Economy

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The aboriginal Washo Indians of California and Nevada subsisted on the products of hunting, fishing, and gathering. The staples of their diet were pinenuts, acorns, and other seeds, roots, and berries; small mammals; and fish. Deer provided some meat and most of the skins used in clothing. [271]

1. Fremont wrote "at certain seasons they have fish...for the remainder of the year they live upon the pinenuts, which form their great winter subsistence... At present they were presented to us as a whole people living on this simple vegetable" (Nevins 1956, 353). [262]

7/1 [ca cat. 116, end plate I, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

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In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

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CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

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A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

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Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

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The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

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The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

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band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

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At sunrise the girl was brought before the crowd and stripped to her apron. She stood in a large basket. The girl's sponsor painted her with ashes using sagebrush for a brush. One streak was made on the face from the middle of the hairline vertically downward to the chin. Other streaks were from the shoulders down each arm and from the shoulders down the front of the body and down each leg. As the woman painted the girl, she talked to her and gave her good advice: "Be lively; don't be lazy; don't eat meat, fat, or salt during your menses; wash your face gently at this time or you'll have wrinkles." After the painting with ashes, the woman poured a basket of water over the girl and threw the empty basket into the crowd where the women scrambled for it because it was considered lucky. The basket upon which the girl had been standing was also thrown into the crowd. The girl was then taken inside and her face and shoulders were painted red; then she dressed.

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Following the dancing, the men took the girl's pole high into the mountains and hid it. No harm should come to it, for the pole represented the girl. If someone found and broke it, the girl would be bent over for life. After the men had taken away the pole, the girl broke her fast. She was given a little pinenut and meat mixed with sagebrush which she chewed and then spit out. The girl was still forbidden meat, fish, grease and salt for the rest of the month, but she could now eat anything else. A feast for all the participants and spectators concluded the ceremony. When restrictions on meat, grease, fish and salt were finally lifted, the girl again went through the ceremony of chewing food and spitting it out, and she also had her hair cut and was given a bath. According to our informants, the entire ceremony was repeated on the occasion of the girl's second menses.

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The girl's puberty dance is held today and shows no signs of disappearing. In the course of our field work, we collected brief life histories of a page or less from 38 females from 10 to 80 years of age. These showed that almost all the women for whom we have information had their puberty dance. Table 1 summarizes the occurrence of the girl's puberty dance by age among our 38 informants. Four of the five females who had no dance gave a reason for its omission. One girl had not yet reached puberty. One of the women in the 40-49 age group had no dance because her father had died just before her menses and the family felt too unhappy to give a dance. The other woman in the 40-49 age group said her mother was a Paiute and therefore was not interested in giving her a dance. However, the daughters of this woman were given dances with their father's elder sister acting as sponsor. The woman in the 70-79 age group had no dance because her mother was dead and she had been in boarding school at the time of her first menses. The woman in the 20-29 age group who had no dance gave no reason but remarked that she had observed the prohibitions against eating meat, fat and salt. Particularly indicative of the vitality of the puberty dance is the fact that all the girls in the

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The changes appear relatively minor. The girl no longer climbs a mountain to build the fires but rather a small hill barren of trees. The Washo say that this is because of the danger of starting a forest fire on the heavily wooded mountains. After the race to the bottom of the hill, the girl is met by a relative in an automobile and is driven to the dancing area. Sometimes food is served at midnight as well as at the conclusion of the dancing at dawn; and some of the people drink alcoholic beverages during the dancing. The girl is bathed in her slip or in her brassiere and panties rather than in the aboriginal apron. Rabbit and deer meat are served if available, but hamburger is substituted if they are not. The prohibition against meat, grease and salt is maintained for only two weeks instead of a month. The scratching stick and the prohibitions against the girl's combing her hair and eating fish seem to have been abandoned. Cartwright (1955, 140) states that the painting ceremony ends with the girl's running to the nearest river and washing the paint from her body. [262]

In the modern ceremony, more emphasis seems to be placed upon the giving of gifts than in the aboriginal one. Other presents in addition to baskets are thrown into the crowd after the dance. Cartwright reports that $75.00 worth of gifts was given away at a puberty dance held for a girl's second menses in either 1929 or 1930. The Washo are not well-to-do and the expense of the puberty ceremony may be one of the reasons the second dance is rarely held. Only a few of the 28 women who had dances reported being given a second dance. [431] [511]

The survival of the dance is probably partly due to the associations the women have attached to it. The older women look back upon the occasion with fondness, and many of these women have sponsored dances for their daughters and granddaughters. The younger women do not always regard the dance as a pleasant occasion. One girl of 16 said she didn't want her dance. "The boys wouldn't talk to the girl before the dance, and I couldn't dance with the boys or touch them." Another young girl said that she was embarrassed "because in the morning at sunrise, I was bathed before everyone wearing only a slip and panties." The girl added, however, that her family invited many friends and relatives and while she was embarrassed at the bathing, she enjoyed having a large party given for her. Another young girl mentioned the big party at her dance. A woman of 27 didn't like the dance because of the bathing in her underslip.

The taboos are a feature of the dance that do not appeal to the young women. One girl did not keep the taboos during her first menses and said, with reference to her dance, "They call it a dance for the girl. I had it in Dresslerville in the summer. I didn't care for it, but every girl goes through it. They make you go without eating except for tea and water. Then at the

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a bath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

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[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[415] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles
[252] for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926,
[782] 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the peo-
[515] ple bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a
[222] family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop
[782] be good and not make people sick.

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178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others.
[535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance
755 and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman
756 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman (Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the
[177] Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing illness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his posi-
527 tion through personality traits and force of character which commanded re-
791 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent revival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony. Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their
[262] livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance indicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists.
881 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis-
[177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of
177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet-
178 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaffected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The ceremonies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female. He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and requires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears on p. 39 -- Analyst]

undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

I

Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

shamans; however, pipe, tobacco and cocoon rattle are used by all shamans. 756
Rupert uses Indian tobacco, a handkerchief, a bone, a bone whistle, a cocoon rattle, a little bag and an eagle feather. He rolls the tobacco into cigarettes, [178]
but in pre-white times, the shaman used a tubular stone pipe. The eagle feather represents Rupert's eagle wegeléyu and the bone his Hindu wegeléyu. Curing takes place indoors after sunset and usually lasts four nights, although [755]
the ceremony can be shortened to two nights.

Rupert begins by washing the patient's face and arms with cold water. 755
Everyone attending the ceremony must wash his face. The patient lies down 756
with his feet to the east. Rupert then smokes some white man's tobacco because of the Hindu. He ties the handkerchief around his head with the bone inside. He prays, talks, smokes Indian tobacco, blows smoke on the patient and walks about. He blows his whistle and passes a bag over the patient. Rupert claims that he can catch the disease in his whistle, and that when he does so, the whistle doesn't make much noise. Rupert makes an offering of pinenut meal by scattering it over the patient and toward the door. He sings his wegeléyu songs, accompanying himself with the rattle. Alternately he smokes, sings and prays, calling upon the Hindu, water, eagle and little boy to help. If Paiutes are present, they sometimes sing with the shaman, but, says Rupert, the Washo are a little afraid and do not sing. The first three nights the ceremony lasts until about midnight; then refreshments are served. [262]
During the curing the shaman and the patient abstain from meat and salt. On [263]
the fourth night the ceremony lasts all night and everyone must stay awake; [515]
after the ceremony all spectators must take a bath.

At some point in the ceremony the shaman has a vision and can foretell whether or not the cure will be successful. According to Rupert, if the cure is to be successful, the eagle will join him in singing and he will see clear water and green vegetation. If the eagle fails to join the singing and Rupert sees a dry and quiet scene, the patient will not recover. If the shaman sees water that is not clear, the patient will recover only partially. Rupert does not like to predict the outcome of the cure because he says that the eagle sometimes fools him and makes him lie to the patient's relatives.

Some variation in the curing ceremonies seems to depend on the cause of the disease. Stewart, Lowie and our informants mention the sucking out of the disease object as a part of the curing ceremony. The shaman displays the object and then disposes of it by throwing it away, throwing it in a fire, or by swallowing it. This occurred either when a person became sick from mistreating Indian food or was a victim of sorcery. In the latter case the shaman might not himself be able to cure the patient, but would see the face of the sorcerer in a vision. Then the patient's relatives could kill the sorcerer [283]
or force him to cure the patient; either procedure would result in his recovery.

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, [834] 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord [752] bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dɔ́·ɬaʔ)[1] was put on next to the abdomen [824] and cottonwood tree bark (tɬ̓ɬaʔ ʔí·ɬ) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to [757] suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or [824] rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

844 After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in [842] order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on [754] the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[1] From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

881

Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with
[272] "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative
[263] effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she
[761] will break her leg or her back.

[752] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men go-
[783] ing to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day
574 after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition
[178] of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

An older man led the chants and the dancing. The dance proceeded in a clockwise motion with the dancers moving to their left around the circle. The dance leader started a chant, others joined in, then the dancers stepped off with their left feet and dragged their right feet up to their left. When everybody got in rhythm, the step changed to a short sliding jump or hop with both feet moving a few inches to the left each jump. This step was similar to that of the two girls dancing before the chanting women.

Over a period of one hour the meter of this dance varied between about 80 and 120 beats a minute, slowly becoming faster as the set progressed, until it ended in a rest. A chant lasted from three to five seconds and was repeated every one and one-half minutes. The rest interval between the periods of chanting ranged from 20 to 45 seconds with an average of about 30 seconds. There was surprisingly little variation in the length of the rest or the length of the chanting. The chant leader initiated the chant and the step, and it took from five to ten seconds for the dance circle to pick up the step. Several dancers did not chant, and the chant leader changed several times during the night, although one man led for over half the time and was considered the best leader.

Today nickels, dimes and quarters are given away by the girl, who is held up by her attendant in the center of the dancing circle. The two hop back and forth toward the moving circle. The girl holds the money between her thumb and forefinger and extends her hand. The dancers that are close attempt to snatch the money out of her fingers, but as a joke she may pull the money down out of the person's grasp with her thumb. As she jumps she gives a high bilabial chirp. This role is often taken over by two older female relatives, since the girl is too weak to do much dancing. In the past, shell, beads, or feathers were used for this purpose.

Another custom that occurred was for the buckskin skirt, poncho, moccasins, or any and all of the girl's clothes to be taken off and kept as gifts by the women guests. She was not allowed to wear them after the washing ceremony anyway and she would receive a new outfit of clothes. Today she may tie a handkerchief or scarf on her dress for someone to take off. Also today she may wear an extra dress or two over her regular clothes, which are taken off as gifts by the older women.

Today as well as in the past the circle dance (le ?wé ?we?) continued until the morning washing ceremony, except for a period during the feast around midnight. The feast of pinenut soup, acorn biscuits, and cooked seed mush, roots, fish and game was placed in the baskets of the guests by the relatives. The lavishness of the feast depended largely on the time of year or whether some relative had been able to shoot a deer. In the fall there was plenty to

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[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyɬ̓u, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

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302 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
782 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer appropriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

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[515] After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[415] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[431] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939, 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[824] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is con-
[431] cealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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178
821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (ɬeɬiɬi, "to drag the
536 feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
[481] the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwíʻya, meiehšheʔ and ɬeʔwéʔweʔ), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

881 574 [262] [582]

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

178 881

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

178 574 881 [177]

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

[191] [273] [578]

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

178 Several
574 women started the circle dance (le?wé?we?) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a. m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a. m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a. m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p. m. to eight by
[535] 5:50 a. m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a. m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a. m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

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224 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been important as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not mention it,
[178] nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crises rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.

NW 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, W [826] had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious [771] significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was W [361] not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

NW 171 An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) [114] shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by W NW my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differ- [177] ences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

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[125] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt [818] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

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825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1961, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

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241 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and hus-
311 bandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors
177 that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agriculture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 241

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 24]) on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. [124] [492] [484]

The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musége is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musége is the common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude appears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous animals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new (and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's invasion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers, 1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder, we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. Moreover the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of husbandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is considered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot contribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has happened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore, have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear-cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals. Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication" or "domestic animals."

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: ETY—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Wa	K1	K2	Kk	Yo	Ye	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Kl	Ad
265. In weir	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
267. In dam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
268. Supported by sticks	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
269. Held in hand	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
270. Fish drives with willow bundles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	-
271. Hand-catch in shallow water	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
272. Harpoon	o	o	o	-	o	o	-	o	-	-	-	o	o	-
273. Spear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
274. 1 prong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
275. 2 prongs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
276. Fish arrow, 1 prong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
276a. Fish arrow, 2 prongs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
277. Night fishing	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
278. Torch or fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
279. Moonlight	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
279a. Stream bottom prepared with white rocks	-	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
280. Hook: gorget (straight, bipointed)	o	o	-	o	o	o	-	-	o	o	-	o	-	o
280a. Angle	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	-	o
281. Of bone	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	o	o	-	-	-	-
281a. Of bone and wood	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
282. 1 barb at angle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
284. Line attached	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
285. Pole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
286. Bait: angleworm	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
287. Grasshopper	-	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
288. Salmon egg	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
288a. Bloater	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
289. Grub	-	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
290. Bait bag, beadwork	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
290a. Bait basket	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
291. Fly hook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
292. Sinker	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
293. Poison (vine used) placed in stream	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
294a. Fish poisoned by "smoking"	-	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
294. Stream dammed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
295. Creek diverted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
296. Fish killed by striking	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o

Animals Eaten

297. Dog (sawabuh) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297a. Mink (pai'vau) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297b. Wolf (tebbi' tawabva) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297c. Porcupine (tso'kwabe or wabbi) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297d. Jack rabbit (kaad) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297e. White rabbit (tshabaat) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297f. Cottontail rabbit (tavaa) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297g. Pocket gopher (sagatoiva) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297h. Kangaroo rat (katai) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297i. Mouse (field) (pengatoi) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297j. Hamster (pamaat) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297k. Wood rat (tika'am) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297ka. Muskrat (kish) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297m. Squirrel (imi) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297n. Ground squirrel (kibi or kipa) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297o. Chipmunk (wain'o) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297p. Weasel (pavini) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297q. Skunk (pui) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297r. Bat (kipa'kaaa) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297s. Elk (pata'kaia) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297t. Raccoon (petaaki) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kd	Kk	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Bo	Tg	Wa	Kl	Gd
297v. Bobcat (wildcat) (tsim) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297w. Mt. lion (kagwihnn) eaten	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
297v. Fox (wagi'i) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
297z. Badger (kuna) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297y. Wolf (ion) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297z. Coyote (idtan'a) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297aa. Buffalo (pagatsi) eaten	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	–
298. Grizzly bear (pahna'a) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
298a. Beaver (kahi) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
298b. Mt. sheep (koop') eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
298c. Antelope (tapa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
298d. Deer (wale) (tahd'ipa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
298g. Lizard, large only, eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
298h. All lizards eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
298k. Frog eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Birds Eaten or Used														
299. Dove (tkevi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
299b. Feathers used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
301. Blackbird (pahe'ropa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
302. Owl, screech (pahi), eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
302a. Owl, horned (wuin'), eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
302b. Owl feathers used	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
303. Kingfisher (toain'nagit) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	·	·	–
304. Woodpecker (oina'nape) eaten	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
305. Magpie (matin'kahni) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
305f. Feathers used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
305h. Raven (ahn) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
309. Crow (etahn) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
310. Meadowlark (patsidoho) eaten	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
311. Robin (onga) eaten	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
312. Bluebird (pidnga) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
313. Hawk (eaihnno'o) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
314. Feathers used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
315. Mocking bird (tsoo onga) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
316. Quail, mountain (tsoto), eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
317. Quail, valley (sihigi), eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
318. Hellidiver (grebe) (pagaiu) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
319. Loon (patsihapo) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
320. Sea gull (kuna'oto) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
321. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
322. Pelican (pesuse) eaten	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
323. Eggs used	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
324. Duck (pahi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
325. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
326. Goose (wag'oto) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
327. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
328. Young	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
329. Heron (wasa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
330. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
331. Bittern (whitepahe) (towowai'kadik) eaten	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
332. Crane (kwrinde) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
332a. Eggs used	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
333. Mud hen (coot) (wuipa') eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
333a. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
334. Avocet (painu'kwrit) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
335. Snipe (sahito) eaten	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
336. Killdeer (pahi'taingi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
336a. Ruffed grouse (kahna) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
336b. Prairie chicken (pakoho) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
336c. Sage hen (kahni) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kl2	Ka	To	Tv	Pa	Mo	At	So	Tg	Wd	Kl	AK
Insect Food														
*337. Caterpillars (plage) eaten	+	-	-	+	+	◦	+	◦	+	+	-	-	+	+
*338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	-	◦	-	-	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	-	-	-	-
339. Ants eaten	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
340. As food	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
341. As tonic	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (nuts) eaten	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (hin) eaten	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
*348. Cricket (nije or nije) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
348a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
349. Grasshopper (natata's) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
350. Caught by hand in early morning	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
351. Gathered in baskets	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
352. Roasted in pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
353. Ground on metate	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
354. Stored, buckskin bags	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Bear liver eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦	+	-	+	◦	◦	◦
361. Puma taboo	-	+	-	-	-	◦	-	◦	◦	◦	-	◦	-	-
362. Deer heart taboo	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	◦	◦	◦	◦	+	+
363. To young	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	◦	◦	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	◦	+	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	◦	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	-	-	-	+	+	◦	+	-	+	+	+	◦	-	-
369. First kill taboo, if shot	◦	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	◦
369a. If trapped	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
373. Mother makes boy before taboo lifted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	◦	-	◦	-
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	◦	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
376. To father	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
377. To mother	-	◦	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	◦	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
379. To all village	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
379a. To anyone	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
Miscellaneous Concepts														
*388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦	+	+	+	-
389. 5 nights' continence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
389a. 1 night's continence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*391. Washing before hunt to aid luck	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
392. Washing during hunt without special effect	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Steam bath	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-
395. Talking during bath	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-
397. Kept from dogs	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

NWA 782 796

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Yo	El	Kl	Ha	To	Ya	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
396. Game believed immortal	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
401. Offering of game kill	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
402. To "nature"	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
403. To spirit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
404. With prayer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
405. Piece of gall	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
406. Thrown in brush	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–

NWA 282 252 251

Gathering

410. Acorns (sis)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
411. Leaching in cage-lined pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
413. Grinding in mortar (paruam)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

Miscellaneous Plants

430. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Cactus fruit eaten (suva or sutsa)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
436. "Stems" eaten	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
436. Needles burnt off	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
437. Needles brushed off	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
438. Roasted in ashes	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

442. Pinon Nuts (tsum)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+
442a. Hooked pole (tsuma) for pinon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
445. Had fire beat	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
446. Had separate piece	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
451a. Piled on ground, covered	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
453. Cooked seeds stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
454. By burning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
457. Unlined pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
458. Grass lined	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
459. Lined with pine-leaf mill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
462. Nuts ground on metate (sutsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
462a. In mortar	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
463. Parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
464. In "Pan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
467b. Families wintered on pinon-nut range	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
468. Nuts eaten as flour, pan	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
469. Nuts eaten as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+

NWA [942]

NWA [423 262]

[p.374]

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	Kl	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Kl	Al	
Miscellaneous Plant Foods															
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	–	+	+	+	+	*	*	–	*	–	–	+	–	+	262
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	*	–	–	+	–	222
472. Boiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	251
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
475. Willow-sap sugar	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	252
476. White pine pitch as sugar	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	
477. Pinon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	–	+	–	–	–	+	
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	[261]
482. Pitch	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Other Plants and Seeds Used															NWA
*482. Tallow crumo (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482a. Sunflower (akôpâ)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	137
*482b. Sunflower (peed)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	222
*482c. Sunflower (akô)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	262
*482d. Sunflower (tsaiake)	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482e. Sunflower (tsaipaeô)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	
*482f. Pickleweed (tuhavu)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*482g. Sego lily or painted cup (tapaxegi)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	
*482h. Sego lily or painted cup (sanako)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	
*482i. Saltbrush (akôô)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482j. Rabbit brush (tavisigap)	–	*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
*482k. Rabbit brush (sigap)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482kk. Rabbit brush (mogoôkapi)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*482m. Deghenn (milkweed) (wihawi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA
*482n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	
*482o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
*482p. Wild tobacco (paivuna)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[276]
*482q. Sorrel (atsa) paeta	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
*482r. Saltbrush or tule (siawô)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
*482s. Cattail (tee)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
*482t. Spike rush (pamaiwo)	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
*482u. Saltbrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	
*482v. Sagebrush (seawa)	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
*482w. Saltbrush (wasin)	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*482x. waai	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*482y. cammoigi	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
*482z. hiavi	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*484. Joint fir (tsukapi)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*484a. saiagava	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*484b. Indian balsam (tosa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	+	+	+	+	+	
*484c. wata	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	*	–	+	+	+	+	+	
*484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	+	+	+	+	+	
*484e. yuya	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
*484f. tsapagi	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*484g. tivea	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
*484h. tivasi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*484i. Indian potatoes (sumai?) (sugo or kiga)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
*484j. Indian potatoes (sputai)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	
Gathering Implements															NWA
*485. Digging stick (pivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	222

[p. 375]

N 226 227 ports Smilacina sessilifolia Nutt. used by Owens Valley Paiute to stupefy fish.

293a. Ki, Kt. Both Kuyui informants independently told of stupefying brook trout by building a smudge near the bank of a creek and fanning the smoke over the water.

294. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

295. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 249): Streams diverted primarily for irrigation, but fish taken. Since the Paiute to the north diverted streams for the express purpose for fishing, it is conceivable that irrigation was an outgrowth of diverting for fishing.

Animals Eaten

N 262 825 297. At: Dogs were eaten when the people were starving.

297c. AE: Porcupine was used as food, but it also had a special prognostic property. If a sick man ate porcupine and it caused him to vomit it was a sign he would soon die; if it did not make him vomit he would surely get well. SF, being ill, wished for some porcupine to learn his fate.

A [262] A [787]

297g. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): Gopher (mü'iya). TÜ: Pocket gophers' holes were raided to get the store of tovusi usually found there.

297i. Ki: - (Kelly, 91).

297k. Ki: Wood-rat skin was used to charm girls. If a stone was rubbed on a skin and then thrown at a girl, she would lie down anywhere with the thrower.

N [832]

297n. N. Paiute: kUpa or kUbö is probably Citellus douglasii or C. oregonus. Commonly called ground dog, ground hog, or ground squirrel.

297p. Kt: White weaselskin used by shamans.

N [301] [777] 832

297r. Kt: Dried bats were used as charm (medicine) for gambling and love.

297s. Kt: A small elk, which lived in the tules, is said to have occupied Humboldt Valley before improved methods of hunting introduced by white people caused its extinction. Ki: Elk known to have existed in California, but seldom, if ever, seen around Pyramid.

N [136]

297z. Kt: "We don't eat coyote because he is uncle to everyone."

297aa. Ki: BA's great-grandfather was supposed to have hunted buffalo in Warner Valley. Buffalo (pagu'tsⁿ) hunted near Eagleville (Kelly, 81). At: A buffalo skull was found by the Indians on Disaster Peak not far from McDermitt, Nevada. This find was probable basis for belief that buffalo once ranged in that country.

298. Bears do not occur in most of Paiute area. Owens Valley: Afraid to hunt it (Steward, 253). Kt: "Bear not eaten because it is aunt to everyone."

W [26]

298g. Wa, At: Lizards eaten when the people were extremely hungry. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

298h. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

298m. Leonard, 117, says frogs were eaten.

[p. 4-26(W)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 262 825 114 222 kutsavi. There were none in Carson Lake. The Toe did not use the larvae said to occur in Soda Lake near Fallon. It was not important to them. TO: Larvae kutsavi were obtained from Mono Lake by trade or expedition. Maggie and Goggles wondered why the Toe did not use the kutsavi which occur in Soda Lake, between Fallon and Hazen, Nevada. Pa: DV said he knew that kutsavi was obtained in old days from Mono Lake primarily, but also from Soda Lake and from a small slough near Pyramid Lake. Wa: Larvae were obtained from Mono. At: In the old days kutsavi larvae were found in the sloughs of Quinn River near Sod House. In the same place a green marble-like water plant was found, called ica pui ("wolf eyes").

W [222 825]

342. TO: Ant "eggs" were used as medicine.

344. To: Informants said cicadas (kŭa) did not occur near Stillwater.

348. At, Sa, Tg, Wd, and Ki: Informants pronounced the word miju, the other Paiute bands said niju.

A [222 251] 356. AE: Grasshoppers were caught by encircling with fire to drive them together and roast.

358. AE: Grasshoppers stored in woven vegetable-fiber sack.

A [262] 360. Wd, Ki, and AE: Only antelope liver eaten raw.

361. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W [262] 362. TO: Deer heart and kidney only of his first deer was taboo as food to a youth lest become lazy. At: Deer heart was taboo to women and young men. A boy would be short-winded if he ate deer heart. Tg: Heart meat made all people lazy. Wd: - (SC).

364. Tg, Ki: Young people were allowed to eat cooked liver. Wd: - (SC).

W 365, 368. Wd: - (SC).

● [262] 367. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

368. Wd: - (SC).

N 796 262 369. To: Not only the first kill, but any game shot with bow (or gun) was taboo to a youth until performance of a ceremony. Neither father nor mother were allowed his first game, but the youth's brothers and sisters would eat it. This taboo did not apply to game trapped or clubbed. ND said he never ate his own kill until he was nearly 25 years old. At that time, an old Indian, not a shaman, suggested to ND's parents that the boy was old enough to eat his own game. ND then killed a deer which he carried to camp where it was cut up. ND was smoked over a small fire of sagebrush, and then a willow hoop, wrapped with strips of meat from the game he had just killed, was prepared and he stepped through it 5 times. Next a small piece of meat was cut from either the right or left side just behind the front legs of the deer and roasted, and then handed to ND to eat. "I was afraid. I had never eaten meat that I had killed. The old man told me to go ahead and eat; said it wouldn't hurt me. I thought I would be sick, but I took the meat inside me. It almost came up again, but I tried hard and kept it down.

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NR20
Achumawi NR5

N 137 122 262 [278] Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc. My informants insisted this was in pre-white days.

483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt. unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DW, a Pakwi, called the same plant sunu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Nat. commōsigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N [278] 484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DW: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N W [278 226] 484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat, shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavō, for house building.

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W [362] 484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tōvusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A [222] 485. At: A crosspiece was placed on end of digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pōrō.

N [249] 505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).

509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was increased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagō knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N [342] 527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to

N [764] have been inhabited during winter months, also used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N [317] 529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. TO: The Tōvusi went

[p. 529 (A)]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[3] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[4] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas.[5] Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[6]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[3] La Barre, 61.
[4] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[5] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[a]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[b] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

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[a] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[b] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."